UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Labor Sunday Message 1934

(Issued by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, through its Department of the Church and Social Service.)

American business and industry stand at the judgment seat. An administration pledged to the welfare of the forgotten man has announced its purpose to bring about such economic adjustments as will result in work and a living wage for all, under conditions in the establishment of which the worker has a voice through representatives of his own choosing; to promote constructive cooperation instead of disastrous competition in business; to secure a more just distribution of the wealth of the country in order that our vast resources may answer the human needs hitherto unmet even in years of prosperity; to afford relief to the sorely beset farm population of the country; to accomplish the release of children from premature toil and their return to school and to an adequate preparation for the responsibilities of life; to effect economic planning in the place of the adventurous but socially disastrous individualism of the past.

The measures proposed are of human origin and therefore fallible. But the purposes sought are divine in their character, if, as we steadfastly believe, the heart of Jesus Christ is a revelation of the divine. He cared whether men were cold, or hungry, or sick. He felt the woes of those in bondage of any sort, and longed for their freedom. Many goals sought by the present leaders of American affairs are indisputably in harmony with the purpose and spirit of Jesus. Whether these goals will be attained will depend upon the wisdom of separate measures adopted, upon the character of the economic system itself, and certainly upon the spirit of those in control of our economic life. If they can replace lust for personal power and profit by devotion to production and distribution for the common good; if they can look beyond the interests of their own class to the good of all the people; if they can rise to the realization that isolation is folly and that there cannot be

(Continued on page 19)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXIV MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1934 Number 1

AN ETHICAL DECLARATION

We believe in the power of united human effort to transform this earth into a world where love, justice, health, and happiness dwell.

We believe that moral fellowship is life, and absence of it death.

We believe in a creed of deed which scorns vain thoughts and empty hours and rejoices in translating love and wisdom into action.

We believe in respecting men, women and children of every race and in reverently studying the whole animate and the whole inanimate world, the past and the present, to the end that we may mould the future of mankind into the likeness of the civic ideal.

We believe in applying a moral standard to the family, to our profession, to social intercourse, to the city and to the State.

We believe in granting women equal rights with men.

We believe in championing the cause of the poor and the oppressed, and in removing every privilege not based on individual ability and not required by the welfare of the community.

We believe in international arbitration and federation, and we look upon war as unholy and destined to be abolished. As regards everything, we believe in putting the question: Is it good? Is it true? Is it beautiful? Will it serve the Commonwealth?

We believe that moral considerations should determine the limits, up to which natural propensities should be exercised and beyond which impulses and appetites may not be gratified.

We believe in a democracy, healthy, intelligent, temperate, courageous, and pledged to reform and perfect the State.

We believe in finding our reward in the good we do.

We believe in progress, and in not clinging to ancient institutions and ideas unless they can justify themselves before the bar of reason and at the tribunal of conscience.

We believe in thoroughly educating all the young, and in continuing our own mental training throughout our lives.

We believe in light, in recreation, in exercise, in leisure, in cleanliness, in fresh air for all.

We believe in a life of simplicity and of usefulness.

We believe in taking up the good man's burden, and purging ourselves and the State of all corrupting influences.

We believe in actively resisting injustice.

We believe in all that is good, pure and holy; and we earnestly invite those who believe with us, to come and join our ranks and help us to fight the good fight.

—London Ethical Society

The European danger, as Walter Lippmann has pointed out so impressively, is two-fold. First, there is the danger of war—a danger in no way lessened by the fact that it has, for the moment at least, been avoided in Austria. But secondly, and much more fundamentally, there is the danger of anarchy, of the collapse of the continent into universal disorder and chaos. If war comes, of course, anarchy will be sure to follow. No government is strong enough to stand the strain of conflict, no people economically secure enough to hold together under the impact of such a terrific event. A next war will inevitably carry Europe back to the dark days of the Merovingian Kings, when barbarian chieftains held precarious and bloody rule over the wild hordes which engulfed the ruins of the Roman Empire. But even if war is avoided, chaos is still a menace. Steadily, even swiftly, at this moment we are drifting back into an absence of that centralized order and control which constitutes established civilization. In country after country, such rule as we have is that of political gangsters, of whom the Nazis are the most fearful examples. These gangsters capture governments as bandits capture banks; they "high-jack" one another, and thus fight among themselves with hideous violence and horror; they rob, pillage, and murder in their own interest and in utter defiance of civil authority. Law, which is the evidence of civilized society, is everywhere yielding to the mere wild whim of some savage leader, of the Hitler type, whose presence and power mean the end of government. It is interesting to note that it is just this return of universal social anarchy which as acute an observer as Mr. H. G. Wells definitely prophesies in his latest book, "The Shape of Things to Come." Our immediate task, undoubtedly, is to prevent war. But in and through this is involved the greater task of holding the structure of society together, and thus avoiding the thousand years of another Dark Ages.

Hitler now has everything in his control. The earth has seen no such despot since Napoleon crowned himself emperor with his own hands. The plebiscite on August 19th was of course the veriest sham. This man has simply taken over power by sheer force of terror, and then held a so-called election in terms of "what are you going to do about it." Yet is there no question, to our mind, that the masses of the German people are still in the thrall of Hitler, still bowed before him as before a savior dowered to save them out of all of their distresses. Just as there is also no question, let us hasten to add, that there is more hostility to Hitler

in Germany than has ever been manifested, or will be manifested for long months to come! Thus, we have believed that, from the beginning of the Nazi regime, there have been hundreds of thousands of Communists and Social Democrats who, inwardly at least, have despised and hated the "Fuehrer." This multitude, we are certain, is now being steadily, even swiftly, increased by the great numbers who are being tragically disillusioned by Hitler's failure to fulfill his promises, especially in the economic field. Added to these are the disbanded Storm Troopers, a formidable body of disgruntled and therefore dangerous enthusiasts. The next chapter of Nazi history, already forecast by the terrific events of June 30th, last, is undoubtedly that of the inward dissension and disruption of the movement. This dissension is dramatized at the top by the growing rivalry of Hitler and Goering, and at the bottom by the unceasing underground revolt of those who have never surrendered to the Brown Shirts. That civil war is close at hand is altogether unlikely. But we endorse the definite prophecy of Ernst Henri, in his terrifying book, "Hitler Over Europe," that the ultimate outcome is an "inner explosion," which Hitler will probably seek to forestall and thus avoid by "moving the helm over entirely for the external explosion." The alternative, says Henri, is "either the death of Hitler and the Socialist revolution, or the European conflagration."

Whatever the follies and failures of the AAA, let us give the President and Secretary Wallace credit for learning a lesson when it is handed them! Never was such a lesson, we venture to assert, as the drought of this past summer. It revealed in terms of terror the logic of the acreage-curtailment and crop-destruction plan, and ended for good and all the madness of the policy inaugurated by the Department of Agriculture over a year ago. Of course, any change is strenuously denied. American politicians, like Chinese mandarins, have to save their faces! "No, we are not changing our plans in the slightest," says Mr. Wallace. "We always contemplated a program which was one of adjustment." But already official announcement is made that land will no longer be taken out of cultivation, that crops in 1935 will not be cut down, that surpluses will not be destroyed but taken by the government for "insurance," that "granaries in the form of government warehouses for farm products will be established to house the production excess," and that plans will be made to distribute "to the needy such surplus crops as may now be going unharvested." In other words, everything that the AAA has done from the beginning is to be scrapped completely, and everything that critics of the administration have proposed from the beginning is to be adopted forthwith. UNITY, moved by no expert knowledge or experience, repudiated the AAA and all its works on the basis of mere commonsense and elementary righteousness. We knew, even without any drought, that it was a crime to destroy plenty in the midst of want, and insanity to build recovery and reform on an economy of scarcity. Now, after the drought, the great statesmen come 'round to our way of thinking! But what are we to think of men who need a catastrophic experience of this kind to teach them commonsense?

There are some things so amazing that one simply balks at believing them to be true. There are some ideas so incredible that imagination becomes transformed into madness in the mere effort to comprehend them. In this class we place the recent proposal of the Economic Council in New York that all men and women on the relief rolls of the government be *disfranchised!* Yes, dear friends, this suggestion was seriously made by men of high standing and repute in the world of business, politics, and society. The reasoning behind the idea, if any, is to the effect that governmental relief may be, and probably is being, used to win votes for the administration—that people subsisting on charity are likely to support at the polls the rule that supplies this charity —that when such people are numbered by the many millions, their attitude of gratitude and loyalty to the government becomes a menace to our democratic institutions. That this danger is real, is obvious. And "Jim" Farley is making it realer every day, be sure of that! But imagine the remedy—all unemployed, all the millions idle and impoverished through no fault of their own, to be disfranchised, like criminals, aliens, and the feebleminded! Talk about jumping from the frying-pan into the fire—what would happen, think you, in this country, if the twenty odd millions of citizens now being helped in one way or another by government to keep alive, should suddenly be denied the ballot? Well, we have no great respect for the ability of the American people to get angry about anything. But none the less we venture to suggest that, if men and women should be disfranchised for the simple reason that they could not support themselves today, there would come a revolutionary uprising here which would make the Russian revolution look pale pink, even pallid, in comparison. And where is the political party, in office or out, which will write this plank into its platform?

Bootleggers Grow Fat Under Repeal
Furnish Half of Liquor Sold in N. E.
Illicit Traffic Gains in Volume as Sponsors
Enjoy Prosperity Wave—More Stills Seized
Than During Dry Era in Nation

Such are the headlines in a recent issue of the "wet" but honest Boston *Herald!* The story matches perfectly the stories drifting out of Washington about the deplorable liquor situation throughout the entire country.

Bootlegging is obviously as bad as ever—the repeal of the 18th Amendment has made not the slightest improvement! This is a dreadful surprise to the naive "wets," who insisted that bootlegging was a Prohibition phenomenon; but to the "drys" in whose Webster dictionaries "bootlegging" was a word of longstanding it is only a part of the same old story. Of course, the government is going to stop this bootlegging. Secretary Morgenthau has opened war with a special force of 600 agents, and promises great results. But let him see what he can do, with the law *on the side of the liquor traffic* instead of against it! Other evils, as well as bootlegging, are still with us. The speak-easy, for example! The "wets" assured the country that repeal would end the speak-easy nuisance for good and all. The "drys" reminded the "wets" that, in the days before Prohibition, there were "blind tigers," "blind pigs" and other hidden places for the sale of illicit booze. But repeal came, and now, nine months after the date which was to clean up everything, the Boston *Herald* confesses that "the speak-easy is still with us." The situation would be laughable, if it were not so tragic. What has repeal really accomplished? *It has added to all the evils existing under Prohibition the legal liquor traffic, and therewith indefinitely extended and complicated these evils.* The fight under Prohibition was bad enough—but imagine adding to the fire all the fuel of breweries, distilleries, and saloons! But it's the old story, as we have said. When we have had enough of it, Prohibition will come back and the real fight thus be resumed.

The last act in the long-drawn-out drama of contention between Hitler and the Protestant pastors began on August 9th last, when the National Synod passed a series of laws transferring all church administration into a Nazi dictatorship under Reich Bishop Ludwig Mueller. After a year of bitter struggle, too complicated to follow or even understand in detail, the independent legal privileges of all Lutheran and Reformed churches are suppressed, all pastors directed to take oath of loyalty to Adolf Hitler and of obedience to Bishop Mueller, and the Synod itself as an ecclesiastical legislative body absorbed as completely by the Reich Bishop as the Reichstag by the chancellor. Already 800 pastors have been suspended from their posts and otherwise punished for opposing the Swastika tyranny, and these of course will remain in revolt against the Nazi state. How many others will refuse to take the oath and thus invite sure imprisonment and persecution may perhaps be known before this editorial is printed. We have no doubt that these spiritual rebels will number thousands. But for the present at least, in accordance with our expectation and prophecy, Hitler has relentlessly and ruthlessly pushed his tyrannous rule into the church, and won a complete victory over his enemies. But is the victory final? We trow not! This struggle marks a return of Reformation days, and these pastors incarnate the spirit of the old-time saints and martyrs. The Nazis have been foolish enough to challenge religion in its most sensitive and sacred tradition of the spirit—namely, the freedom of the church from the control, and even interference, of the state. This is a fight between Jesus and Hitler, the Savior and Der Fuehrer, the Cross and the Swastika, Christ and Caesar. It is a fight which has been fought many times, and always in the end with the same result. In this conflict against Protestants—and also, let it be remembered, against Catholics—Hitler is beaten before he begins. When the final debacle has come, and Hitler is dead or in flight, it will be duly recorded by historians that organized and heroic Christendom was his undoing.

The passing of the *World Tomorrow* is a journalistic calamity of the first order. This paper was founded by Norman Thomas and a group of pacifist associates early in the Great War. Closely joined at that time, in interest and activity, with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the *World Tomorrow* was the strongest and bravest voice of sanity and idealism anywhere heard during that period of madness, violence and bloodshed. After the war was done, the magazine entered upon its mission of spiritual healing of the wounds of conflict; and, as political and economic problems multiplied, of constructive leadership in the salvaging of a shattered world. More and more, of course, it became evident that our existing capitalistic order, which had produced and now could not survive the war, must be succeeded by some new society of a collective type, and to this revolutionary task the *World Tomorrow* gave itself in these later years. Under the editorship of Kirby Page and his associates, the paper became definitely a Socialistic organ, and stood triumphantly as the ablest publication of the kind in the English-speaking world. Always, of course, the *World Tomorrow* has had financial difficulties. Had it not been for the unstinted bounty of generous friends, it would have perished long ago. Since the coming of the depression, the struggle has been particularly severe, and in the end now a losing fight. American readers have not yet learned how to support their journals of liberation and enlightenment! In this case, also, we must believe that the growing dissension in the ranks of the liberals and the radicals over issues of revolutionary method has had its fatal effect, as it is certain to have similar effect upon other institutions and organizations. Socialism is undergoing a process of disintegration. There will be more wreckage than the *World Tomorrow* before this process is done. The pity of it is that the wreckage involves the dead loss of our most precious idealistic possessions.

The River of Life

The escape of man from the domination of his environment, his mastery of his fate came about because he had the power of thought. His use of thought to escape meant in the end, through his mastery of nature, more leisure to think. The increase of leisure also meant in the end a larger mastery of nature.

Man, being the kind of creature he is, came inevitably face to face with the problem of food and shelter, of association, of his relation to others, and to the unseen world. The first three problems man has in common with the beast of the field, the last is evidence that he is more than that.

This last problem has two phases. The first has to do with concepts and values. These concepts are abstractions such as justice, righteousness, mercy, beauty, and love. The values are the emphasis or weight we place on these in their relation to and effect upon our lives. The second phase of the problem has to do with our relation to what we call the universe as a whole—what is our place in it, and what is our notion of that which we cannot name except to limit.

> The somewhat which we name but cannot know
> E'en as we name the star and only see
> His quenchless flashings forth which ever show
> And ever bid him, and which are not he.

Man has endeavored to identify this Reality with the idea of the gods or of God. But man has only created gods to destroy them by the pushing them from their thrones or sweeping them from the skies. He has come to realize that he, man himself, has been their creator. But there remains, in spite of all our connotations, the sense of Reality which Swinburne called "The God behind the gods."

This we cannot escape and we cannot deny the Reality of our own thinking. We even accept the Reality of our own skepticism. We are driven for weal and woe to the idea of Reality.

We think, but we think in time and space. We may deny their Reality except as metaphysical concepts but our thought does go on in time and in space, and it is Reality ever rising again like Banquo's ghost to confront us.

Ethics, which are a part of our relation to the seen world, are also concerned with the unseen world. Ethics has to do with our relation to our fellowmen but in terms of these unseen concepts of justice and righteousness, etc., and also their values. It is out of these ethical problems that there comes to men and women the great questions that involve man's relationship to the universe as a whole. It is this sense of intimate and close relationship with man that forces the great questions: What am I? To what do I belong? These become platforms on which we become searchers of the eternal. It is true that these questions come with tremendous force in the great crises of life, in the solemn moments of love and of death, and in the presence of the unutterable beauty of sky, mountains, sea and plains; but they come because man is primarily an ethical being, a being with the power of dreaming of himself as he ought to be both as a personality and also in relation to his fellowmen. In answering these questions, there first looms the overwhelming and indefinable fact of life which in its sheer appeal is greater than the majesty of the mountains, the splendor of the stars and the awesomeness of the ocean. Its movement is unrelenting. It is a river that flows on and on from generation to generation. To change the figure, it is a narrow border of light pressing out of the blackness of the past into the blackness of the future. Individuals come and go, generations succeed one another, but the River of Life moves on.

The individual life is but an insignificant eddy that rises in the current only to disappear. It appears small, mean, insignificant and utterly ineffective, but it is the center of the self-conscious creative power of the universe. Man appearing as a self-conscious being appears as an individual. He is the cumulation, a focal point in the creative process. As such he is too significant and too precious ever to be used as a means. As Felix Adler well says, "Respect for life becomes one of the highest attributes of man." For man is something more than mere flesh and blood; he is a being with the power of entering consciously into a creative process.

Life is fulfilling. It is revealing. It is ever finding new unity. Life found itself on a higher plane and revealed itself in a new unity when man appeared. Man, conscious man, became the carrier from generation to generation of the creative process. It is that which is the eternal Reality. This is not a scientific discovery in a narrow use of the word. It is an appreciation of experience. It is an entry into a consciousness of participation in the creation of something new. It may be called a discovery. It is for the individual, an awareness of contact with that of which man is both a part and an operation. It is an awakening of what the poets have called the soul of man. It is the sum of his whole personality responding to a sense of the immensurable value contained within the individual. He himself may be weak, inefficient; but these values, a part of reality which he cannot escape, are immeasurable. It is through them that he escapes the limitations of time and space, through them that he lives in the past and in the future. As to this view of life we cannot argue, we can only report. A man who had first seen the Yellowstone Park had returned and could not debate as to the wonders he had seen, he could only report. I cannot prove, I cannot establish what, in terms of exact science, I think and feel about Reality revealed to me in the figure of a river. I do not call it God—for to most people God is a stationary figure—and yet after all it is the god of the poets. It is that Reality which Bergson named the "elan vital," it is the everlasting urge, the creative process.

I believe that our hates, our petty ambitions, our selfish greed, all that denies the value inherent in individual life, deny also the creative movement itself. It dams for a moment the current of life. On the other hand, our good will, our strivings for justive and expressions of mercy, and our realizations of love release in the current of life the creative process. As our lives become significant and important we cease to be mere bundles of flesh and bone, avoiders of pain, and seekers of pleasure. We become as the poets have well said, gods. The moment the individual grasps this significance of life it ceases to be vain and impotent. It takes on color, it has meaning and is beauty. With such conception no one can call his or her life meaningless or of no account. The humblest peasant takes on with this interpretation of the River of Life "qualities that doth become a king." It is the denial of the unities of life that brings insignificance to the

individual. When from the simplest and humblest soul in all the land there pours forth a stream of good will, this one shares in the creative process which prophets and poets have ever called divine. It is by this fact he has been lifted. He is lifted consciously to man's estate.

Such an interpretation of life robs one of all vanity in the moments when its significance presses upon one. I cannot watch the rising of the full moon in all its beauty and majesty over the still water of a lake and not bow my head in reverence. But this miracle of beauty is small, shall I say insignificant, compared with the revelations of the eternal Reality that comes when one is in the presence of the bursting forth of beauty and power, the revelation of life, as seen in acts of devotion and love.

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

Is Revolution Possible in America?

During the first quarter of the present century the opposition to reform came primarily from two groups: from the respecters of "tradition" who are opposed to any change in the *status quo,* usually because they have or hope to have some stake in it; and from the intellectual cynics who have no interest in the perpetuation of the existing regime but who look upon all reform as futile and all reformers as being in the same class. It is perhaps superfluous at this late date to attempt a refutation of the ideas upon which the premises of the first group are founded. They represent simply the natural reactionary tendencies of society which have to give way, as the whole record of history shows, before the inevitable momentum of social forces. The second group is worthy of more serious consideration and is indeed a greater menace to the advance of reform for their position is based on an intelligent and realistic view of the world and of human nature. Men of the type of H. L. Mencken, they have no particular fondness for the existing regime but are profoundly skeptical of all social panaceas because they are convinced that man's innate stupidity is incapable of reformation. This essentially pessimistic and defeatist viewpoint is one to which every thinking person must at times be inclined. The world and human nature seem so inherently stupid, one is tempted to stand aloof from it all and cry out in the savage words Swift put into the mouth of God: "Go, go, you're bit!" But these cynics are themselves one of the chief reasons why the world doesn't get any better. If we have made any social advances at all it is because some persons have dared, in despite of the cynics and their philosophy of hopelessness, to set the machinery of change in motion. Mr. Mencken confesses that he hates all reformers but even he must admit, if he would be honest, that if it hadn't been for a few meddling souls who took the trouble to secure us whatever measure of free speech we now enjoy, it would be impossible for him to have such a rollicking time composing his irreverent blasts against the high and mighty among his contemporaries.

But today the advocates of social reform find themselves faced with an adversary of a different stripe. No longer is it the press agents of Big Business or the bright young scoffers nurtured by the *American Mercury* who demolish the reformer and his plans for changing society. It is the extreme radical who today offers the reformer his bitterest opposition, the radical who believes that the present social order is beyond reformation or patching and that we can only be saved by a revolution, or more specifically, a Marxist revolution. The Marxist radical has no faith in reform, in the ability of society, under intelligent and socially-minded leadership, to adjust itself to changing conditions. The present order, according to the radical diagnosis, is too far gone to be bolstered up by artificial stimulants; it must be destroyed before any genuine social advances can be made. The bourgeoisie, says our radical, must go so that the proletariat—the workers of the world—may inherit what is rightfully theirs. (What would the Communist ever do without those chief words in his economic litany, the good old terms "bourgeoisie" and "proletariat"?)

In the pre-depression era the sole representatives of this viewpoint were the band of Communists, easy to distinguish by their preference for soiled linen, who gathered in Union Square in New York to let off the steam of their pent-up hatred of the capitalistic system. In the past two years their membership has been considerably augmented by the addition of several more or less distinguished persons, chiefly from the ranks of the literary craft. Confronted by the devastating effects of the economic depression these gentlemen have decided that there must be something radically wrong with capitalism and that perhaps what we need is a good revolution to set the world to rights. One of the first of the converts was poor old muddle-headed Theodore Dreiser whose elephantine style doesn't do much to clarify economic issues. But during the past year or so some of our best social and literary critics, like Newton Arvin, Granville Hicks, Malcom Cowley, and Edmund Wilson, to name only a few, have been converted to the religion of Marx. Whether the current movement to the extreme left among our *literati* is only another fad, like the humanist movement of two or three years ago, I do not know, but certainly a great many men of intelligence and critical discrimination are to-day giving their support to the Russian economic ideal.

It is not my intention here to weigh the merits or demerits of the revolutionary philosophy to which these gentlemen adhere. I certainly hold no brief for the capitalistic system as at present constituted and I am quite positive in feeling that an economic revolution, if it were possible to have one in this country, is very desirable. I am ready to admit that most, if not all, of the criticisms directed against capitalism are justified in fact. If for no other reason, a system which permits huge amounts of produce to remain in storage or be destroyed for lack of sales outlets while literally millions are walking half-starved about the streets, must be held highly unsatisfactory. But to say that a revolution may be desirable is a very different thing than saying it is possible. My quarrel with our literary and intellectual revolutionists is on this point. They delude themselves and try to delude their followers into thinking that revolution is imminent. And not only that. They convince themselves that while they are sitting around waiting for the revolution they mustn't give aid to any humanitarian cause which is non-Communist in nature. To do so would be a concession to vulgar liberalism, a betrayal of the proletariat.

Such an attitude demonstrates, it seems to me,

that one of the chief troubles with American radicals is that they are lost in a hopeless bog of romanticism. They indulge in a lot of wishful thinking with never a regard for the realities of the American scene. I sometimes wonder if these gentlemen who sit in offices and compose visions of the "revolt of the workers" and the "revolt of the masses" have ever seen or observed very closely a real honest-to-goodness American worker. If they have it seems to me they ought to realize that there is about as much of the spirit of rebellion against capitalism in the typical American worker as there is in Aimie Semple MacPherson-Hutton against collections in the church. The typical American member of the proletariat looks wistfully towards the bourgeoisie and as soon as he saves a little money he moves over into that class, buys a house and a car, and settles down to the job of keeping up with the Joneses.

Mr. V. F. Calverton, one of the high priests of American Communism, and a typical exponent of the idea that America is ripe for Marxism, has stated that "any revolutionary movement which does not make its fundamental appeal to the workers and farmers is bound to fail." If Mr. Calverton is under the illusion Marxism is making any fundamental appeal to American workers and farmers I hasten to assure him he is hopelessly mistaken. I am fairly well acquainted with one section of the farming class—the farmers of New England—whose lot is not and never has been an easy one, and I think I can fairly say that the revolutionary sentiment among them may almost be said to be nonexistent. Here in the country my neighbors who are milk farmers have been losing money steadily for many months but none of them would think that an excuse for becoming a revolutionist. They all have a grudge against the large milk companies who refuse to give them a fair price but it is solely against the companies and not against the government. If a revolutionary agitator should come among them their Yankee patriotism would soon enough come to the fore and he would find himself faced with extremely unsympathetic auditors. The farming population of New England and indeed of most of the country, is traditionally independent, cautious and conservative. They would be the hardest class of all to fit into such a rigid system of coercion and regimentation as is Marxian communism, as Russia has found out in trying to subdue the corresponding class in that country. Only a childish optimism permits Mr. Calverton and other American radicals to feel that Marxism makes any "fundamental appeal" to the farmers.

The farmers are not the only class which present difficulties to the evangels of revolution. Consider the vast army of small clerks and office workers, the "petty bourgeoisie" whom the Communists fondly hope to convert to the cause. Anybody who has ever worked in an office and has observed the typical bookkeeper, stenographer, or telephone operator, doesn't need to be told that this class of workers is as immune from the virus of revolutionary propaganda as Mr. Henry Ford. The few hours they have free from their uninspiring daily grind they want to devote to having a good time, not to working for the realization of the perfect state. Their middle class instincts incline them towards distrust and even active dislike of social agitators. Sometime ago I stood with a large group of office workers in the windows of a building on Union Square and watched the New York police break up a Communist rally. The indiscriminate and brutal way in which they beat up those unfortunate radicals was enough to disgust anybody with a spark of human sympathy or pride in American traditions of fair play. But did the office workers cry out in protest against the cruel methods of the police? They did not—on the contrary they fairly gloated over every whack on the head and every bloody nose. To them such treatment was only what "the dirty radicals" deserved. When I suggested that the whole business was a sickening disgrace they were almost ready to toss me out to the cops. So much for this class of workers which our Marxian friends seem to think are going to fall so easily into line.

American labor at large is not a bit more radical than the farmers and the office workers. Its official organization, the American Federation of Labor, which may be said to reflect the views and general attitude of labor at large, is conservative and in some respects decidedly reactionary. It is true that the Communists have succeeded in the past few years in fomenting trouble in various industries and have been the moving spirit behind several major strikes. But in almost every such case I believe the labor leaders who listened to the glib promises of the Communists have regretted it. As Elmer Davis pointed out not long ago in *Harper's*, the Communists have a deft way of stepping out of the picture when trouble starts, leaving their converts to take the rap. Which is to be expected when the Communist objective is not to aid American labor but to advance the theory of Communism.

It seems to me that Communism in America has small chance of getting anywhere for a long, long time. Only Hamilton Fish and the American Legion boys on the one hand, and the Communists themselves on the other, take the movements in this country very seriously. The American people simply do not have the genius for economic revolution. In the midst of the greatest depression of modern times what do they do when they have the chance to register their dissatisfaction at the polls? Do they roll up a huge vote of protest for the Communist, Mr. Foster, or even for the respectable Socialist, Mr. Thomas? They do not; they simply turn out the group called Republicans and put in the group called Democrats. They want change but they want it within the scope of the traditional political parties. That is the extent of the revolutionary spirit of the American people.

John Chamberlain, one of the group of critics with a strong leaning towards Marx, says in his recent book characteristically entitled "Farewell to Reform": "The situation, (in America) looked upon with intelligence and considered as a long-range proposition, can lead to but one of two personal conclusions: it can make one either a cynic or a revolutionist." It can make one a revolutionist if one is looking for a romantic escape from the realities of the world which is, after all, what most theoretical revolutionists are seeking. As regards the other alternative I can only say that there are still quite a few persons who have "looked upon the situation with intelligence" who can forbear from lapsing into a state of cynicism over it. Some perverse souls insist that it is not yet time to bid "farewell to reform." Reform has got in some pretty healthy whacks in the past few weeks and months. The far-reaching experiments recently undertaken by the government are revolutionary social measures which were brought into being by democratic, not autocratic, methods and I venture to say that this is the only way we are ever going to be able to bring about social changes in America. Com-

munism and Fascism may produce results quicker, they may even be more admirable systems, but they simply will not work out practically in America.

The situation to-day, then, in America is this: Reform is needed, sadly needed, in our economic and political life and aligned against it are three forces of opposition, the defenders of the *status quo,* the intellectual cynics and the revolutionists. As I have suggested, there is less to fear from the first two forces to-day than ever before. The opposition of the conservatives is the easiest to overcome for once any specific reform is established on a firm basis and becomes an integral part of the national life, they will fall easily into line. The cynic will have to be listened to and may indeed be a needed checkmate to the overzeal of the reformer, but in the end his philosophical position will have to be ignored. The radical, who at the present time occupies the position of chief critic of reform, will have to be left to his dreams of creating a social revolution out of something which can never be shaped into revolutionary material.

MORTIMER BREWSTER SMITH.

The Great Bihar Earthquake*

Gandhi has interrupted his Harijan band in response to an urgent appeal from Rajandra Babu Prasad and others to come up and inspect for himself the earthquake region, so that he may help work out schemes of reconstruction. He will resume his program later, though, since for him this curse of untouchability is an even greater calamity than the terrible quake of mother earth.

Some of us have been privileged to accompany him on this tour through the devastated area of Champaran. One always hopes that newspaper accounts have been exaggerated but in this case it is not so. The facts themselves are sufficient. There is no need of exaggeration. One can imagine how much more terrible it must have been before all the debris was cleared away. Towns and houses completely ruined, reduced to heaps of mud and bricks, road surfaces torn up and metal foundations shifted by several feet. Large tracts of earthquake water lying about, sand spread over the usually fertile fields, lying in many places to a depth of several feet. We passed many fields where men had made holes seven or eight feet deep and still had not reached the earth under the sand. I have carried away with me a mind picture of a lone farmer driving a plough up and down his field; in each furrow was nothing but sand, no sign at all of the earth on which he depended for a subsistence.

How would Gandhi approach these people who had lost everything? What would his message be? It was a strong message of encouragement. He urged them to face the calamity bravely and not give way to self-pity. The evil, he said, had come and must be faced. Let them work hard. Let every able bodied man work with all his strength. They must not be content to resort to relief centers. Charity was for those who could not work and those who resorted to it when there was no need were stealing. They must help themselves, for he did not want India turned into a land of beggars.

They are helping themselves—removing sand all day long for a mere pittance of one penny a day, which is all the relief committees can afford to pay. They are used to coping with disasters such as floods, but nothing so overwhelming as this earthquake has ever come their way before. Their courage and patience is impressive, and reminds one of the stoicism shown by farmers in China. Just as they are beginning to get their fields in order the floods come and ruin the crops, or there is yet another war between generals who descend upon them with their armies and seize everything they require, generally without compensation of any kind. The Chinese farmer goes patiently back to the "good earth," though the same thing happens over and over again. No Chinese general, no flood, drought or famine has ever achieved more widespread misery and financial loss as did Mother Earth when for nearly four minutes on January 15 she shook herself and brought down buildings like packs of cards and changed the whole face of the land. After the first overpowering fear and horror, the Bihari have pulled themselves together and it is an inspiration to see with what fortitude they, too, are fighting against such tremendous odds.

Patna is our center. Here there is scarcely a house which is not badly cracked and many are in ruins. The one in which Gandhi and the rest of us are camping has been patched up for the occasion. There are tents dotted about everywhere in the grounds. Rajandra Babu Prasad told me that at the time of the quake he was in prison serving a term for civil disobedience. A few moments before, the authorities had told him that he would be released early on account of bad health. His friends and relatives were visiting him and rejoicing at the news when suddenly there was a terrific roaring as of many aeroplanes. A house nearby crashed as if silently to the ground. The internal rumbling of the earth was so great that all other noises were drowned.

The people gathered together and were standing horror stricken when suddenly Rajandra Babu Prasad noticed a herd of cows from an adjoining field rushing towards them. He caught his breath, thinking the cows meant to charge and make the situation still worse. But the terrified beasts stood quietly among the people. They seemed to find strength in human companionship, believing that when man, their master, was with them, all would be well!

We visited some English friends in Patna and found their home badly damaged. Here they carry on their ordinary life and work amid plaster and mud. Part of the roof of their house sits now on the lawn—an illustration of the saying that "all ruts are bad, even good ones," and it is well to have a complete upheaval sometimes! They had many uninvited guests from the neighborhood camping in every nook and corner of their garden after the earthquake. Hindus, Moslems and Christians alike took refuge here, distinctions and prejudices forgotten in face of a common disaster. The boys' hostel of which they have charge is unsafe for habitation—as much of it as remains—and so they have certainly a houseful. Boys are all over the establishment and some have a place of honor in the bathroom. The situation was doubly difficult as they were storing

*The Bihar earthquake was one of the most severe and destructive in the history of modern times. This is the first first-hand account to be published in this country. The author, Miss Hogg, is niece and traveling companion of Muriel Lester, the friend of Gandhi. She is an earlier contributor to UNITY.—*Editor*

another family's furniture at the time. There was just enough room to swing the proverbial cat. They took us out to see their kitchen quarters—a crazy looking row of buildings, leaning their heads on each other's shoulders, tottering and ready to fall from sheer fatigue. Not so the tennis court which was finished a few months before the shock. It is a great advertisement for the firm who laid it—not a single crack anywhere.

It was our English friends who first told us the story which introduced me to the lighter side of earthquakes, and the truth of it has since been vouched for by several people. A certain lawyer, sixty years old, was waiting outside the court room to be called in for a case, when he suddenly heard a terrific roar and felt the building shake. He decided to rush home. Finding his way blocked in two directions as he staggered out of the building he took the only other possible route. Here water poured on him from all sides, but he went on. Suddenly the ground opened in front of him and he fell into a large fissure. He rubbed his eyes, wondered what had happened and then realized that he was up to his chin in earth. Just as his muddled brain was beginning to grasp the true significance of his position he was suddenly shot up into the air by a powerful geyser and thrown out on to solid earth. One can picture him sitting there, dripping wet and mud-bespattered, his lawyer-brain turning somersaults in its effort to shape the true facts of the case. But we are allowed only a few moments' comic relief in this tragedy. Two other men fell into the same fissure and have not been seen again. A bullock, too, was completely buried here. Dogs worried the place where it lay and the tips of its horns were found three feet below the surface.

We set out from Patna in cars to explore the district, and from the beginning the journey was adventurous. First of all we must cross the Ganges twice on unsteady looking rafts, each just large enough to take a car. Getting the car on at all without driving it straight across the boards into the river was a difficult business, skillfully negotiated. The sun rose over the Ganges as we glided slowly across. It was a beautiful morning and peaceful. To avoid crowds details of our route had not been published. But the rumor had gone around and people were already congregated on the river bank, some to wash their clothes and others to have their morning bath, others just to stand and stare and shout a welcome.

When we set out the car had looked quite innocent. But from the moment we got into it on the other side of the river it was full of malicious intentions and seemed to vie with the recently displayed forces of nature in showing the ultimate littleness of man. There never was such a liver shaker and it was with a sigh of relief that we came upon another river to cross. Doubtless it was the earth and not the car that sinned, but that Chevrolet somehow had an evil leer.

The roads were not only rough but so sandy that within a few moments our faces, eyelashes and clothes were thick with dust. Mr. Gandhi was the first to call my attention to my appearance. When there was a deep ford to cross, water got into the carburetor of his car which had to be ignominiously pushed out by a crowd of willing peasants. We came across in perfect style. "We know how to do these things" I jeered, as Gandhi's driver tinkered with the internals of his engine. "If you only knew what you looked like," was the quiet rejoinder, and I noted the grin and the twinkle in his eye. "You remind me of those people who besmear themselves with mud and ash." I certainly wore a facial masque of grey dust. After a few more miles it was in our eyes, ears and mouths and we gave up any attempt to look clean. In places it was such rough going that we were unable to do more than five miles an hour. Most cars would have objected to the uneven surfaces and rutty paths, but ours enjoyed them, if only for the inconvenience they caused us. As for the occupants, we could but sit tight and hope for the best. I had almost as many thrills in that car as in a Tokyo taxi. All who ride in the latter and escape must have at least nine lives.

We spent our first day noting particularly the damage to villages and land. Town devastation is more spectacular; huge buildings have become a tortured mass of ruin. But the little humble homes of the villagers are as tragic and even more so than the shattered mansions of the rich. These people have lost everything. Their home is gone, the site on which it stood is condemned, the future looks very black.

For the most part the trees of the land have not been very badly affected. Bamboos in many places have been stripped of their leaves and tell their own story. The proud palms are blasted and hang their heads. But most of the large trees stand as majestic as ever, and very few have been uprooted. So there is beauty still in the midst of ruin. But it is no easy task to drink in the beauty of Nature amid such scenes as these. Not so difficult for those who pass through, but how difficult for those who must stay and work in all the debris.

Sand, sand everywhere—blue sand, yellow sand, silver sparkling sand, looking so beautiful in the sunshine, becoming almost unbearable as one realizes its meaning. Geologists say that this was thrown up from one hundred and fifty feet below the earth. What malicious, conscienceless Puck has been at work? Will the people of Bihar ever again be able to take any joy in sand? Will even the children be able to play happily in it, with their spades and buckets? Or will it forever be associated in their minds with a great evil that came upon them, bringing starvation, disease and misery, taking them from their play, driving them out into the fields with little baskets that they must fill and carry and empty, and fill and carry and empty, and fill and carry and empty again with the everlasting sand.

On the second day of our tour through the earthquake region we again set out at a very early hour. At Hiotihari, we visited first of all Mr. Verma's house. It was a quaint spectacle. Two ends standing in ruins and no sign of the rest. "Where's the middle?" we asked. "That's what I'd like to know," was the answer, "somewhere under the earth." As we clambered over mud hills that were once his tennis lawn we discovered odd pieces of his well laid out garden, now many feet removed from their original position. There were still some flowers growing. These he picked and gave to us, remarking that he would like to share with us the last of his possessions and offer an emblem of hope.

A few yards further on was another house—a desolate ruin under which several people had lost their lives. Part of the inner wall with its quaint drawings and decorations still stood, and added a further touch of pathos to the depressing scene.

After considerable mountaineering, we made our way along one of the valleys of death that was once a busy street. We were invited to inspect the interior of

one of the damaged houses. Ducking our heads, and stooping low, we managed to get inside a room and walk through to the court yard. So many feet of sand covered the floor of the room that we could not stand upright. The court yard was piled high with sand, and a well that had supplied all the water for the household was no longer visible. The tip of a handle sticking out above the sand marked its position.

It is customary in India for members of the family to live together in an ancestral home. Sometimes as many as nine brothers, each with wife and children, live in sections of the family residence grouped round a central courtyard. The loss of life in some of these houses was very great, as the earthquake occurred at 2:15 p. m., a time when women and children are generally resting. Of nineteen people in one of these houses, ten were killed and six injured. We met one of the fathers. His own wife and children had been buried under the ruins and he was left with his brother's wife and children to care for. His brother had been killed by a falling wall when trying to rescue relatives. We were impressed by the remark of one of the children aged four. Her father had been killed and her mother was weeping. "Why do you cry?" she said. "I know Daddy has been killed, but so have lots of other Daddies"—a child's philosophy with a very real message, if we stop to think about it.

There is desolation everywhere in this Champaran region of Bihar. Yet these very people who have suffered most relieve the tension by telling amusing stories that are current in the neighborhood. There was a very deaf, doddering old advocate who was almost blind and took little interest in anything but his work. On the day of the shock, he was laboriously reading a long brief to an almost somnolent judge and assembly. At the first rumbling, the court room quickly cleared, but the old man plodded on, unconscious of any strange happenings, through the intricacies of this complicated case. Ten minutes later a porter came back into the room to find him still engrossed in pouring out information to the empty benches.

Lalgang has an area of seven and a half square miles. Fifty thousand rupees' worth of damage has been done to government municipal buildings. Of sixteen hundred and eighty-two houses, thirteen hundred are down, and two hundred badly damaged. Thirty-five temples and five mosques in the area have been destroyed. We passed one of these mosques and mistook it for a hillock. An enthusiastic band of volunteers are working here, and have been since almost immediately after the disaster. There is no paid service in the Bihar Central Relief. Some workers are given food; others are entirely self-supporting. One of them asked whether he might make a special appeal for books to be sent to the Shri Gandhi reading library. Some of the construction work that has been going on so quietly for years under the direction of the many young men who were inspired to sacrifice self-interest to material good includes the set up of lending libraries. Many books had been generously contributed by Europeans who were interested in this particular library which was opened a few years ago. The building has been badly damaged and many books lost. The workers would be grateful for anything that can be sent to replenish the library. The address is: The Shri Gandhi Reading Library, Lalang, Bihar, India.

At Muzzaffapur we walked over sandy fields to inspect "the fissure" which the villagers have adopted as "our fissure" and showed us with an element of pride. It is no exaggeration to say that one could easily stand four elephants in a row side by side in this tremendous cavity, and nobody approaching across the fields would suspect their presence. The land beside it looks very precarious and will soon subside. It is about 100 yards long.

Our progress through this area was not easy. Lack of time drove us to cars, but they sometimes got wheel spin in the heavy sand and often assumed a dangerous tilt. Yawning gaps showed where bridges had once been. Tortured stone work looked possible, if precarious and was then found to be cracked right through the middle and we had to take a circuitous route. One bright red railway bridge was broken in two, one half hanging dejectedly from the bank.

Bihar, the granary of India, has become a sandy waste. Crops that looked green and healthy are wilting, choked by sand. Sugar cane is standing in plenty. But many factories are down. The Government is helping with money for bullock driven cane crushers, such as were used before the time of factories.

The reclamation of land buried in sand presents a very difficult problem. In places where sand has been deposited only in patches it can be worked into the soil and may even improve it. But for the most part it covers extensive areas and is deep. If tractors are used, the artificial ridges which were made as boundary lines will be broken down and this will lead to confusion. But, even more important, the system of irrigation connected with these ridges will be upset. In many places large pits are being dug. In these the sand is dumped and earth put over the surface. But it is a long, tedious process and expensive. It will provide work, however, for numberless laborers, and will not necessitate heavy outlay on machinery that would be useless after reclamation is completed. It is in the interests of agriculturists, landlords and government alike that this work should be done. Otherwise, there will be loss of means of livelihood, rents and homes alike.

Meanwhile permanent reconstruction must probably be delayed until after the monsoon. Extensive flooding is anticipated. Many rivers, wells and waterways are choked with sand. We saw people walking over ruins that were once 12 feet deep. Men are clearing wells as fast as possible and seeking new ones. The whole system of drainage is disorganized, since most of the road channels are now sandy paths.

Rajandra Prasad's committee has already been asked by the government to begin building boats in readiness for floods. This requires a great deal of money. There is the problem, too, of restarting in life hundreds and thousands of people who have lost their trade, business or stock. Middle class people are suffering greatly and are in need sometimes of doles, sometimes of money from organizations that will be content with a low rate of interest to get credit for setting up business again.

The many organizations and reliefs are working happily together in a spirit of co-operation. In Motihari, representatives of all the committees came to discuss their schemes with Mr. Gandhi—government officials and private reliefs. We were taken to see the model houses with which they are experimenting as

temporary homes. By sharing ideas and comparing notes, the many workers are evolving a type of dwelling that will be cheap and comfortable. To most of us, including Mr. Gandhi, the government house seemed the best of those we saw, but something else should be substituted for the corrugated iron roof which will become unbearably hot in summer.

As we were returning in the evening to Patna from the Camparan area, an Englishman elbowed his way through the great crowds at the station and shouted a message through the carriage window to Rajandra Prasad. He said he was an engineer and had, the day before, penetrated an area fourteen miles west of the furthest boundary of land surveyed by the committee. "They are starving out there," he shouted. "I gave them a bag of rice and all I had, but you must do something about it. Let people know."

The train steamed out. The matter was investigated as soon as possible. It was found that the people had had no food for days and could hardly walk.

The problems of reconstruction and reclamation are difficult. They require a working knowledge of practical economics and an understanding of the people. Groups of devoted helpers with vision who are prepared for self-sacrifice are endeavoring to rebuild Bihar. When the floods are over, land subsidence finished, new courses of rivers determined, they hope to rebuild a finer place than was destroyed, and ensure better health and cleanliness on the most economic basis. Resources are put to a severe strain in spite of the generous help from all classes at home and abroad. The task requires not only courage, enthusiasm and self-sacrifice, but sustained financial help. Floods, famine, plague, malaria, and other evils are following in the wake of the earthquake.*

DOROTHY HOGG.

***Who will help? Relief committees, Government and Indian alike, are working together under great difficulties. Funds are desperately needed and will be needed for months to come. This is no sentimental appeal but a genuine S. O. S. to all who can assist. Send contributions to Rajandra Babu Prasad, Central Relief Committee, Patna, Bihar, India.—Editor.**

The Three-Fold Task of Pacifists

Chairman's address at the Annual Conference of the No More War Movement held at Birmingham, October 14-15.

The outstanding fact in the realm of international affairs at the moment is the failure of the Disarmament Conference and the growing threat of war. That failure has shocked the peace forces of the whole world, and in many cases created a condition of despair. Why that should be so is surprising, since failure was inevitable. The present situation is a supreme challenge to the world's peace movements, an imperative call to them to face the facts, and to discover the real causes of this colossal tragedy. Were the failure of the Disarmament Conference to be ascribed to the new situation in Germany it would be a calamity, for the triumph of Hitlerism in Germany is but one of many manifestations of the disease which is threatening the very existence of modern civilization, and which is destined to throw up war situations with increasing rapidity.

None will now deny that civilization has reached the end of an era. Before our eyes is a social system in collapse. Its achievements are colossal, but its failures are staggering. Its defenders, bent on the single purpose of insuring its survival, seem prepared to run every risk to achieve their end. If they succeed, as they have done in Germany, we shall witness the rise of many Right Dictatorships, to be followed, in due course, by Left Dictatorships. In the meantime, armaments will continue to be piled up, social and international antagonisms will become more intense, while threats of war will multiply. Sooner or later the war machinery will be set in motion, and in the twinkling of an eye our civilization will go up in smoke. A bigger gamble with destiny was never undertaken. And all without sense or reason, since our wealth and our power to produce wealth are sufficient to guarantee the reasonable needs of all. Science and riches have produced instruments of destruction which no human agency is qualified or ought to have the opportunity to use. A situation is thus created which calls for the earnest thought and action of every self-respecting citizen.

In addressing this Conference a year ago, I predicted the complete failure of the Disarmament Conference, and stated my reasons for that view. I want at this Conference to lay even greater emphasis on those reasons and to make the unqualified declaration that there will and can be no disarmament so long as our civilization is founded on exploitation. Whether national or imperial, exploitation is a form of war, and produces the conditions—poverty, unemployment, oppression and therefore social unrest, revolt, fear, class and international hatreds and antagonisms—which threaten and eventually bring armed conflict. Bolshevism, Fascism, Hitlerism, turmoil in India, revolt in South America, widening class divisions in the United States and most other countries, etc., today, are all, in their various ways, the fruitage of exploitation which, if it be not soon ended will cause civilization to be shaken to its foundations, and vast areas of it to perish altogether.

I, therefore, invite your very serious consideration of this fundamental issue. If my diagnosis is sound, it must profoundly influence our peace activities.

I want to suggest to the peace movement as a whole that in view of the demonstration which the World Disarmament Conference has given of the total inability of States whose economic structure and existence are organized on exploitation, to disarm, that organization for peace must proceed on wholly different lines from what most of it has done hitherto. Obviously, it is impossible to starve people amidst plenty without creating the condi-

tions which stimulate fear and produce war, or for one country to dominate another, as Britain is dominating India, without the necessity of being well armed. In other words, we must choose between peace and exploitation, between a policy of social and international justice and the maintenance of huge and ever-growing armaments.

In these circumstances it is obviously futile to discuss such matters as limitation and pooling of armaments. All arms today possess such an enormous killing power that once war breaks out or is even threatened every arm will be prepared for use, and requisitioned if necessary, despite all the conventions which may have been passed. Similarly, all the discussions which have taken place at Geneva on the question of pooling military resources prove conclusively that what is intended is to increase the attacking power of those nations which are likely to secure a position of domination, and not any serious measure of disarmament.

I therefore submit that our first duty should be to work for the abolition of exploitation. Get rid of exploitation and armaments will be unnecessary. Were Great Britain prepared to offer India complete freedom and hearty co-operation, and to set herself to the task of abolishing exploitation at home, she could disarm at once without the slightest fear. In the same way, were a government to appear in France which was prepared to recognize the real causes of the World War, and the iniquities of the Peace Treaty, and squarely to face the demands of justice in conformity with the enlightened ideas of the age, including the necessity for international economic co-operation, France and Germany could also disarm. But failing such a change in outlook and policy is it to be countenanced that this country should even contemplate participating in a war to defend the wrongs which threaten the "peace" between these two countries? And so we might go on.

It is necessary to face these basic facts and to expose them. To reveal the real reasons for the failure of the Disarmament Conference and the sources of weakness within the League of Nations would not weaken the League, but give hope and guidance to a bewildered and despairing world. We must hold on to the League, as under the right conditions it must constitute an indispensable part of sound world organization. At the same time we must guard against being bound by decisions which express the desires of Imperialist Powers and are in conflict with the unquestioned aspirations of mankind at large, including those for the abolition of international exploitation, social injustice, armaments and war.

In my submission, therefore the circumstances of our time require that pacifists should apply themselves to three main lines of action.

The first is to seek to eliminate the element of exploitation, as far as may be, from our national and international policies, and as individuals to assist to the utmost the establishment of a social order based on co-operation for the common good.

Secondly, in view of the impossibility of any serious disarmament taking place within the framework of a League of Nations whose members found their social and economic policies on the right of private exploitation, and of the imminent danger of war which must exist in consequence, it is necessary to organize resistance to war and dictatorship, first by forming the largest possible body of people who will resist war under all circumstances; and second by organizing specific forms of resistance such, for example, the operation of a General Strike.

Thirdly, I think we must study the political situation with a view to deciding along which route it may be possible to secure the adoption of a policy of total disarmament by example.

In regard to the second line of action considerable advance has been made during the last few years. The churches and the Universities, as well as members of numerous working class organizations, e. g., are lining up in strong and growing numbers behind the policy of complete war resistance. In addition to this individual action, the Trade Union Congress, the Co-operative Movement, and the Labor Party as well as the International Federation of Trade Unions, etc., are moving very rapidly in the direction of organized action to resist any war which should be threatened or begun. The latest and most striking step taken by these bodies was the Resolution passed by the Labor Party at its Annual Conference, at Hastings, on October 4th. In this Resolution the Labor instructs the National Executive Committee, in conjunction with the T. U. C. and the Co-operative Movement

> to pledge itself to take no part in war and to resist it with the whole force of the Labor Movement and to seek consultation forthwith with the Trades Union and Co-Operative Movements with a view to deciding and announcing to the country what steps, including a general strike, are to be taken to organize the opposition of the organized working-class movement in the event of war or threat of war . . .

These events more than justify the decisions made by this Movement at its last annual conference. The Movement can justly claim that the action it has taken on this issue during the past year has played a not insignificant part in securing the big advance which the above-named organizations have made by their recent conference decisions.

This achievement, however, but opens up the way for still greater and far more urgent action, that of endeavoring to secure total disarmament by unilateral action. Obviously, disarmament cannot be secured without political action. It is therefore necessary to discover the best means of attaining that end. In surveying the political field today it cannot be denied that the most hopeful avenue for achieving total disarmament by example is the Labor Party, in the first place because that party is opposed to the policy of social exploitation for private ends, and secondly because it has now outlawed all war. To be logical, the Labor Party, must, in view of its recent Resolution, abolish all armaments. I therefore submit that the work we commenced at our last conference must be continued by this conference, and that our Industrial Group should be asked to undertake a well-organized campaign directed towards the goal of total disarmament.

Thus while the world situation is full of ominous forebodings, reveals the triumph of reaction in many quarters and presents many threats of war, there are signs of a growing and widespread recog-

nition that the social devastations of our time, with all their threatening consequences are the fruitage of a policy and a system which must be speedily ended, and that until they are ended organized mass action against any and every attempt to bring the nations to war is inevitable. That is encouraging, but it clearly indicates the line of duty for this and, in my opinion, every other peace movement. I believe the No More War Movement will not shirk its duty, but recognizing that civilization is at stake will bend itself to its momentous task in such a way as to be worthy of those great minority movements of the past which by heroic endeavor have been the means of directing the mind of their age to the way of salvation.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

Trumpets on New Horizons

Astronomy

Through vast and stellar space man gropes;
On far Andromeda he broods;
And with his mighty telescopes,
He rakes unguessed-of solitudes.

And yet there is a vaster space;
Unfathomed it has always been:
His neighbor's soul, a fearful place,
He never thinks of peering in.

LOUIS GINSBERG

Smoke

Over the windless streets and towers,
Like some colossal granite yoke,
Fogging our hearts and homes, there lowers
A sun-concealing roof of smoke.

Tintless and chill, and old as death,
Dread as some ambushed monster form,
The stagnant air, without a breath,
Broods like the lull before a storm.

Ah, not in the dead sky alone
But around our wall-girt, canyoned days,
The smoke is thickening, zone on zone,
With cinder-blacks and smutty grays;

And we, beneath the chimneys, dwell
Besooted in a sullen gloom,
Groping in caves of Bid-and-Sell
That bar us from the clover-bloom;

Nor can we see how darker smoke,
From furnace pit and battle fen,
May deepen, deepen still, and choke
The sunlight of the world of men.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ

Warrior

He is no soldier in a uniform
Nor does he bear a gun with bayonet,
He is not called upon to charge and storm
The foe, nor to be graced with epaulet.
He is a fighter but of different kind
And marches many burdened miles each day
And dreams of his beloved left behind
Who watch with yearning while he is away.

He fears no bullets of a foreign make
And seldom meets with barbed entanglement,
There are no lines or dugouts he could take
But every camp looms up belligerent.
He fights with every chance of hope destroyed,
This wearied soldier of the unemployed.

JACK GREENBERG

The Study Table

"Christianity and Coercion"

When the Fellowship of Reconciliation is being, not disrupted, but seriously divided over the types of coercion that should be used for the achieving of the new social order to which all readers of UNITY are dedicated, a book from the pen of Bishop McConnell on "Christianity and Coercion"* will be welcomed by all forward looking individuals. We all expect much of Bishop McConnell. He has been the kind of progressive leader that has given hope to multitudes of younger men within his own communion and in all branches of Protestantism. Yes, his influence has become world-wide. He has combined prophetic insight with statesmanlike activity to a degree rarely achieved in bishops.

In the present volume, he will not be disappointing to multitudes of readers. To his problem he brings that same discerning and keenly analytical mind so obvious in most of his books. The volume consists of the six Fondren Lectures for 1933, and are as follows: Christianity and Coercion, The Coercion of Law, Intellectual Compulsion, The Iron Laws of Economics, Social Pressure, and The Church and the Higher Coercions. Realist as he is, Bishop McConnell recognizes that most of organized society consists of coercions of one type or another. That coercion by law makes for a larger freedom for more people he aptly illustrates by comparing life to a highway, where the red and green light system occasionally seems to curb individual freedom, but where in the long run it provides that freedom so essential for the swift movement of traffic. Throughout his treatment of the various types of coercion, Bishop McConnell, as he himself says of himself, keeps digressing. The present reviewer rather likes that. It is the easy style of impromptu conversational delivery, so typical of Bishop McConnell's addresses.

It is very clear that Bishop McConnell has implicit faith that the new social order can be achieved without violence. Over and over again Bishop McConnell stresses that under our American system of democracy the people can have any kind of social order they want, which can be achieved without resort to the coercion of violence, although it will be, of course, as the result of the coercion of law, of education, and especially of social pressure. Very rightly does he emphasize the tremendous power that social pressure possesses in a society like ours. This he illustrates by recalling to mind "the power of fashion" among people. Whether decreed in Paris or some other place, "Underneath the setting" of our fashions "is a public demand for change." Of course, as a bishop of an ecclesiastical communion, we expect him to see the opportunity of the church to create that desire for a changed

*"Christianity and Coercion," by Bishop Francis John McConnell.

and bettered social order that must come, if chaos is not to ensue. Oddly enough, Bishop McConnell and Reinhold Niebuhr are exactly at opposite poles on this question of the use of the coercion of violence in the national and the international spheres. Niebuhr has eschewed international warfare. "We regard an international armed conflict as so suicidal that we are certain that we will not participate in it." (See his article, Why I leave the F.O.R. in *Christian Century,* Jan. 3, 1934.) Yet in the social conflict Niebuhr prefers to "support the devil of vengeance against the devil of hypocrisy," even though, apparently, it may mean participation in violent means to get economic justice for the masses. On the other hand, Bishop McConnell according to this volume at least may never be expected to be found using or abetting any kind of violence in the social struggle. Perhaps Niebuhr would say that he does abet violent coercion when he becomes the recipient of the economic security that is his. Be that as it may, it is more than disconcerting to discover that in the event of another war, into which the United States might be drawn, one can by no means be certain that Bishop McConnell would be found on the side of those, who would refuse to have anything to do with it.

Maybe we expect too much of Bishop McConnell. It may be that amid the increasing complexities of modern life, we cannot expect any individual to be at the same time, at least, the one hundred per cent prophet and the head of a branch of organized religion. Be that as it may, Bishop McConnell is very disappointing in what appears to be his attitude toward war. I say "what appears to be his attitude," because the good bishop has a clever way of often getting things said through the mouths of "others." One cannot always be dead certain when he is speaking for himself, and when he is getting some good stuff over by presenting his points as the position of "some." We do not object to this mature wisdom on the part of the bishop, for, verily, wisdom is justified of all her children.

Nor is this to say that the bishop does not see the essential social lunacy of war. He writes, "One of the worst curses of modern international war is this perversion which destroys the ability of the warring nations to recognize truth." He refers to the vicious propaganda, used by every war machine, to keep the people at the white heat of hate. "After a time the soldiers . . . correct some of the popular lunacy on both sides." Again, "The insanity has to be dealt with before it starts. The war must not be allowed to begin. Once begun, all this evil comes with it." Speaking further about propagandists in time of war, he says,

> There is nothing beyond their ability when it comes to rigging up stories for popular consumption. The astonishing feature is the consumption-capacity of the people. We wonder now that any intelligence could have believed the stuff that we all swallowed ravenously in those awful days.

At the very outset of the volume we read,

> If a nation should start to run amuck, the attacking nations are soon crazy also. This mental effect of a war-spirit is fully as disastrous as the physical havoc wrought by war. All nations alike have to give themselves up to believe lies. . . . Modern warfare is a struggle between nations that have gone all but mad. . . . One clear teaching of the last war is that all were alike guilty . . . its costs are all out of proportion to anybody's gain. . . . Killing ten million human beings today that even a hundred million two generations off have a better chance is dubious policy. . . . A textbook on military science, used in an English military school even before the Great War, laid stress on the extent to which, in Grant's campaign of 1864 at the battle of Spottsylvania, the fighters in hand-to-hand conflict were roused into such transports of fury as almost to cease to be human—and then coolly added that, inasmuch as such extreme fury has been usually associated with victory, it is to be encouraged!

Many more such quotations might be given to show that Bishop McConnell knows full well the sheer insanity of war, but let these suffice. When he treats of "the absolutist conscientious objector," he admits that "Probably this objector takes the most Christian stand on the war question." We again quote the bishop's words, for we desire to give the readers of this review as accurate a picture of the Bishop's attitude on the war question as we can.

> None of the criticisms passed upon the absolutist objector weigh very heavily. We cannot say that it would be disastrous if all men acted as he does, for, if all acted as he does, there would be no more war. We cannot justly berate him for not patriotically helping his country in time of need, for he may be following the course which will some day at least be of the utmost good for his country. We cannot get far in calling him a man of one idea, for his idea certainly is exceedingly important. Why then not preach the Christian duty of all men to become conscientious objectors? The reply is that we may well preach the doctrine to the utmost, but taking men as we find them, the idea is a counsel of perfection.

All too clearly does Bishop McConnell divorce himself from any "counsel of perfection," while we ask again and again, if the leaders of our churches like Bishop McConnell refuse to give us the "counsel of perfection," to whom shall we turn for it? There is spiritual tragedy to hear this greatly honored bishop of the communion that looks to Wesley as its founder admit "The objector is the spearhead in the warfare against war," but in the very next sentence confess, "The others of us admire him, but we know that we will weaken in the day of battle."

Here is our great disappointment with Bishop McConnell. Although he says, "If we are ever to conquer the war spirit, we have to get the churches out of the business of blessing war," we feel that if war should start to-morrow between any other nation and the United States, we could not depend upon Bishop McConnell to refuse to bless such a war. Even though he has not the slightest doubt that the blessing of the World War by the churches "is in large degree responsible for the attitude toward Christianity of the generation since the war," and although he stamps as the "moral impossibility" the "killing of enemies in love," as advocated under the stress of the World War crisis by one of our greatest preachers, his position seems to be that, "considering the world as it actually is, . . . war is a dirty, filthy business but . . . we now and again have to go through it . . . in the hope that war will somehow work in the end to destroy itself." To be sure he introduces all this with one of his "Some are not convinced that the objector has the right of it, etc." Yet that this is Bishop McConnell's own position, we gather from the way he immediately proceeds, when he says,

> This position is far from ideal; but taking the world as it is, I think we can make a good argument for its being at least measurably Christian in this world of ours where nothing is fully Christian.

Are we here witnessing the tragedy of one of our most promising ecclesiastical leaders refusing to take "probably . . . the most Christian stand on the war question," because all values may have become relative to him, and all absolutes have disappeared?

Or does Bishop McConnell fail to understand the real causes of warfare after all? He writes, "the spectacle of a citizen avoiding all military service by avowing objection to war, at the time when men who believe otherwise are dying for the state, is not inspiring." We are tempted to ask this question. If Bishop McConnell had been present on that tragic night when Jesus told Peter to put up his sword, would the good bishop have been more inspired if the Nazarene had himself seized his disciple's sword and perished gallantly defending himself against arrest by Pilate's soldiers? Yet we feel the difficulty goes deeper than this. How can a man like Bishop McConnell still believe that men in war can die *for* the state? Does he not know of the undisputed and undenied facts recently published in two brochures that men in war *never* die *for* the state, but always *for* the Munition Makers? I refer, of course, to those two pamphlets, published in the last eighteen months, by The Union of Democratic Control in Great Britain, the "Secret International," and "Patriotism LTD." If after assimilating these facts, which we have not as yet, at least, even seen challenged, Bishop McConnell can still think men die in war for their states rather than for swelling the dividends of those who own munition factory stocks—well, we believe he would think again before being "not inspired" at seeing men refuse to help continue this hell of war that munition manufacturers desire to be continued for the lining of their own fat pockets. In fact, we would say, as Bishop McConnell says of the church's duty to appeal to men on the highest side of their natures, but make it apply to war and the whole war system, "Here it is that the Church should stand so completely at opposites with the methods of this world."

Yet once more we'd like to ask Bishop McConnell if he thinks men in modern warfare in any area can die *for* the state. We had supposed that he and millions of others had seen clearly that war cannot possibly bring the slightest good to any nation. If no war in modern times can conceivably bring any good to any state, but only harm, how can anyone who dies in such a war be said to die *for* the state? Since all war under modern conditions is *against* every state participating, do not those who in taking part suffer death, die *against* the state, and thereby add to that state's losses? Is not the individual responsible for adding to the state's losses, if he consents to increase the harm done his nation by prolonging it with his own participation?

Yet, even though our own disappointment with Bishop McConnell's position on war is great indeed, and though we may have seemed to have dwelt overmuch upon it, this should not blind the reader to the essential worth of the general discussion of this book. It is timely and will well repay a thorough reading of it.

GEORGE M. STOCKDALE.

"Elemental Religion"*

Preachers and laymen might well turn to the Lyman Beecher lectures on preaching for enlightenment concerning their mutual tasks in these "times that try men's souls." They have a right to expect help from such a source. And more so with Dr. L. P. Jacks of England as the lecturer.

But let us see how much light is thrown upon ministerial problems by Dr. Jacks who delivered the Beecher lectures at Yale for 1933.

Dr. Jacks does not discuss the technique of preaching, and he says little of theology. He is concerned with "elemental religion" which he defines as "the experience which all men have of being in contact with an all-penetrating Power which makes not only for righteousness in the narrow sense, but for excellence in every form, and is, indeed, the dynamic of the whole universe."

Philosophy is the discoverer of "a hidden Power and the preacher is the ambassador of that Power." The preacher, therefore, is essentially a man under orders. His leadership is based throughout on his obedience to "the Power whose ambassador he is." Since the preacher is under divine orders he is not easily discouraged by the trials and perplexities of "these troublesome times." In a lecture on "The Preacher's Difficulties" Dr. Jacks declares that "it is inconceivable to me that anyone who places comfort, ease, and safety above all other considerations should have chosen the ministry of religion for the work of his life."

Preachers are advised by this Beecher lecturer that they will "not fill their churches by appealing to the love of comfort, ease and safety." One of the reasons why so many churches are empty today is that "the appeal is pitched too low," Dr. Jacks insists. Man "is made for encountering opposition," and this is the first lesson the preacher has to learn.

In spite of tremendous difficulties, Dr. Jacks does not think that the outlook for the preacher today is discouraging. Our lecturer believes that "man's spiritual hunger was never so keen," and that "the public standard of what is spiritually wholesome, spiritually nourishing, and spiritually vitalizing has risen and is rising." Under the guidance of science "the intellectual life of the world has acquired a higher standard of veracity than the church has yet learnt to impose on herself."

Another difficulty with leadership on the part of the preacher involves the problem of finding those who will follow. "It is difficult to play the part of a leader," Dr. Jacks declares, "in a world where every man is a walking Declaration of Independence." The temper of the modern world is such that "all religious groups, including the Roman Catholic Church, have to face the liberated intellect of mankind."

The difficulties confronting the preacher are to be thought of "as challenges to be met rather than as problems to be solved." Dr. Jacks is wisely skeptical of the solution of the major human problems by purely intellectual processes because human problems are not mental enigmas to be routed by argument. "There is no arguing with sorrow and suffering in their bitterest forms," he says.

Dr. Jacks asserts that one of the major functions of the preacher is to set a noble example. The preacher

* "Elemental Religion: The Lyman Beecher Lectures for 1933, With Three Sermons on the Main Topic," by Dr. L. P. Jacks, Editor of "The Hibbert Journal" and formerly Principal of Manchester College, Oxford. (Harper and Brothers Publishers.)

must display the spirit of faith and courage as he "faces the peculiar difficulties of our calling." The preacher's task is not so much to solve human problems as it is "to set an example of courage in a perilous universe."

A thorough-going theism dominates these lectures of Dr. Jacks. He leaves no place or function for a non-theistic preacher. He quotes with approval Phillips Brooks' statement in a former Beecher lecture series that "the preacher is a revealer of the life of God." In a lecture on "First-hand Acquaintance With Deity," Dr. Jacks insists that the prime essential of a preacher's equipment is what Carlyle called "a knowledge of God otherwise than by hearsay." If a preacher "remains in the God-tradition" he has nothing to fear from difficulties. Dr. Jacks confesses himself greatly disturbed when he hears of "some new 'ism' arising in the churches which claims to dispense with God or to reduce him to the position of useful assistant in furthering the purposes of man." Inasmuch as "life loses its meaning without God," Dr. Jacks insists that "God will not allow himself to be discarded; how can he in a world which would collapse immediately if his activities were withdrawn for an instant?"

Religion is too apt to be merely a subject of study with both preacher and laity. There are too many books written about religion—this tendency was given its greatest impetus by William James' "Varieties of Religious Experience"—and too much talk about religion. Thus the suggestion that a revival of religion might be brought about by prohibiting the writing of all books about religion for a long term of years sounds reasonable to Dr. Jacks. Elemental religion is more than a mere intellectual exercise.

Dr. Jacks emphasizes the idea that religious experience is not "an exceptional thing reserved for privileged souls" but rather "the normal experience of the plain man, grasped in its entirety and deeply felt."

The preacher is warned by Dr. Jacks to remember always that he does not speak to "disembodied spirits" but "to men and women with bodies." "We are too frightened of being called materialists," he says. "The spiritual man is just the material man at his best."

Dr. Jacks believes that the problem which confronts the preacher as he deals with "the rising generation" is not one of teaching. There is "plenty of sound instruction. The problem is lack of self-control and discipline. Democracy has bred a dislike of discipline."

The "three sermons on the main topic" are on "The Holy Ghost," "The Holy Catholic Church," and "Death." They represent a sort of flirtation of Dr. Jacks with the Anglican Church. They were delivered in Liverpool Cathedral during June, 1933. The Holy Ghost is defined as "the Spirit of Truth"—scientific truth as well as spiritual truth. "The Holy Ghost permeates the intelligent life of the whole world." The Holy Catholic Church is "the spiritual university of the race," and it is not "an adult educational institution." In the sermon on "Death" Dr. Jacks declares that the greatest of all questions is "What shall we do with our lives?" His answer is "Give your life away!" It is rather surprising to learn that a violent storm has been raging in England over the delivery of these sermons in the Liverpool Cathedral. As a result of this tempest a ruling has been made by the hierarchy of the Church of England that hereafter no Unitarian may occupy any pulpit of the Anglican Church. This ruling is inspired wholly by doctrinal considerations. Unitarians may be decent and upright but they are not Christians, the Archbishop of York declared anent this controversy.

I have found more eloquence than enlightenment in Dr. Jacks' lectures on preaching and in his sermons.

The dominant theistic emphasis of Dr. Jacks has led him to accept the fallacy that the preacher, because he is "the ambassador of a hidden Power," has a source of inspiration and insight inaccessible to ordinary mortals. He possesses a kind of unearthly wisdom higher than the knowledge discovered through science or honest human thought. My own impression is that the preacher's message is human and fallible. He has no knowledge but that which is accessible to all of us. To be an effective and helpful preacher he should be the possessor of a great fund of knowledge and wisdom—both of which should be derived not merely from books but also from a rich life and honest thought about life. Dependence upon "the hidden Power," advocated by Dr. Jacks, is more likely to prove a handicap than a help to the preacher.

In his warning against "alarmists in the pulpit" Dr. Jacks comes dangerously near ruling out the prophets who denounce the major evils of our times. "The last thing a preacher should do is to lend himself to spreading a moral panic," Dr. Jacks declares. This eliminates the Hebrew prophets, doesn't it?

As I read Dr. Jacks' lectures and sermons I felt that "the hidden Power whose ambassador the preacher is" might not be altogether relieved from responsibility for the disintegrating and destructive forces in our universe. This "hidden Power" is so "all-enveloping and so all-penetrating!" What about the physical evils, such as disease, storms, floods, and the moral evils such as poverty, war, and economic imperialism? Possibly Dr. Jacks meant to include these evils when he declared that "I should think ill of any preacher who confesses himself untroubled by the problem of evil." Or am I right in assuming that Dr. Jacks has given us lectures and sermons beautifully enriched with "sweetness and light" but, so far as contemporary preachers are concerned, almost wholly irrelevant?

L. M. BIRKHEAD.

Echo

Like a rap on a drum and its quick repeat,
The rap-a-tap-tap of a hundred feet
Re-echoed mine in constant beat
When I went down the street.

And then I mused, "Why even so
A hundred hearts, all pulsing low,
Reply to mine in living flow,
As down the street we go.

"Heart echoing heart in its repeat,
We should be brothers then, whose feet
Go rap-a-tap-tap in steady beat,
When we go down the street."

KATE BUTLER.

Correspondence

Our Beery, Boozy, Bamboozled Brethren

The writer lives in Denver, Colorado, and about every two years has visited for a few weeks in one of the large cities in the East. During the life of the Eighteenth Amendment he saw only one intoxicated man in that city. Things are different now.

Last evening my wife and I had occasion to walk along two blocks of a leading business street. The end of one of these blocks was one-half block away from the City Hall, the other was within one block of that great municipal building. This is what we saw: Within one block of the City Hall and facing it was a saloon jammed with men, some sitting at the tables, some standing at the bar. It was a hideous mass of profane, generally disreputable looking people. The next block on the same street near the City Hall had five places where alcoholics were being dispensed. Most of these also were crowded with masses of roaring, profane—often young—men. At one place part of the bar was crowded three rows deep by individuals seeking the brain-degrading fluids. Outside of these resorts were groups of men, some holding on to each other with the silly affection of inebriacy. What about their families when they went home?

The morning of this writing I walked through the same street and every one of these saloons—for that is exactly what they are—had men drinking in them at that early hour. Down the street one block further was a broad building with great black windows on which were painted "Liquor Control Board." Where is the control?

One block from the City Hall a ragged, muttering, intoxicated man followed me into a store. The proprietor told me he was much annoyed with the conditions that had suddenly developed about his place of business. He said, "yesterday an intoxicated young woman, beautifully dressed, came in here and I had a hard time getting rid of her. Yesterday a man was lying on the pavement opposite my store for a long time."

I was in a street car yesterday when a foolish, drunken man with a watery-eyed, vacant stare entered and after passing the conductor left the car at the next corner—he did not seem to know his right hand from his left. Day before yesterday my wife was in a street car into which a besotted man—nicely dressed—entered. He immediately proceeded to lie down on the long seat in the front part of the car. The passengers had to move away from him. I have, within the past few days, personally observed unfortunate men rambling around the streets or trying to stand up or sit down in public conveyances. One young man put his head on the seat of a car I was in while his feet were on the floor. Meanwhile, other people had to get away from him.

Who will pay for the moral and financial damage done to many of the women and children of these drinkers and to the decent-living people of our communities? Will the money-grabbing foreign and local manufacturers and distributors of alcoholics pay the bill? Will not you, the tax-payers, through private handouts or public taxation be compelled to take care of many of these beery, boozy, bamboozled brethren—for after all they are our brethren—and their families?

Conditions are infinitely worse than they were before or during the days of the Eighteenth Amendment. Where are the promises made to the law-abiding, tax-paying people of America? Where are the personal liberties and rights of the plain, middle-class people? Do not some of us possess a right to our personal liberty on street cars or pavement as well as the drinkers? Why should intoxicated men infringe on our personal liberty and those of our families? Where is the promised exit of the bootlegging industry? Where is the promised decrease in crime? Where is the promised big financial revenue so glibly predicted by politicians? Where are our law-makers? Where are our police? Where are we going?

WILLIAM C. ALLEN.

Denver, Colorado.

"Science and Immortality"

EDITOR OF UNITY:

I am sorry I could not answer sooner Mr. John Rowland's queries on my article on "Science and Religion." I am now a hemisphere away from UNITY's editorial offices.

Mr. Rowland or anybody else is welcome to question my questioning of Dr. Albert Einstein's "right to believe or disbelieve" anything or everything. But my position is that Albert the man may fiddle and speculate till he is blue in the face; but when Einstein the scientist, to whose lightest world all the world (outside Nazimania) attributes some vast meaning arrived at by long study and incalculable calculations, says he does not believe in the survival of death, all the world (except Nazimania) will conclude that the scientist has concluded thus as a scientist—that is, after scientific investigation.

Scientists are not permitted (at least I do not permit them) to talk unscientific nonsense aloud in public. If they want to indulge by way of a rest in that kind of personal expression let them whisper it. Or let them put it: "I do not believe in (whatever it is)—but I must admit that I have not investigated the matter, and may be conversing through my caubeen" (caubeen, Irish for hat). Or, vice versa, let them (if they can do so with complete scientific conscientiousness) say: "I have read the vast mass of evidence accumulated by psychical researchers during the last sixty and more years. I have also done some research myself. But I have not been able to convince myself that the dead are not dead." Then my criticism of the scientist's procedure will not be needed, though I shall still have the satisfaction, on grounds of study and experiment, of differing from his conclusion.

I do not agree with Mr. Rowland's statement that a statement of mine about a hypothetical individual and his or her hereafter is more theological than scientific. It has nothing to do with theology, which has to do with what Bernard Shaw once called "our old friend God." My statement was not based on biblical texts such as Mr. Rowland quotes. It was based on many years of direct experiment and study. I did not refer to "an immortal soul," for I am well aware of the difficulty of drawing a line between now and a thousand billion years hence, and saying that something which had existed till then had proved its immortality. I would, however, concede that if the "immortal soul" of Mr. Rowland (if he will permit my assuming such an entity for the sake of argument) had managed to live so long, it showed some sign of having acquired an immortality-

complex (if the word complex will also have existed so long, which some doubt), or at least had a better chance of living another thousand billion years than if it had ceased existing ten billion years earlier. (I have a suspicion that this is an Irish bull—and some specimens of that verbal quadruped have already achieved immortality.)

Mr. Rowland asks me "in what way physical (sic) research has demonstrated the survival of individual consciousness beyond death"; and he short-circuited my possible answer by asserting that "the Spiritualists have never yet proved to science that their claims are valid." I take it that UNITY's tame printer's *divil* (not devil, please, which is a theological term and not permitted by Mr. Rowland, whereas *divil* is Irish, and therefore admissible as a creation of the imagination, if nothing else—now return to the first bracket to get the hang of the sentence) made physical out of Mr. Rowland's psychical. On this assumption the answer can be found in a good public library, or can be had, I presume, from the American Society for Psychical Research, 15 Lexington Avenue, New York City. "Science" (by which I take it he means certain scientists, seeing that there is no final infallible entity that can be called "Science") does not hang around waiting for Spiritualists to prove things to it, or them. Certain scientists have themselves taken up the matter of kingdom come, and have employed methods of research which are grandiloquently called scientific, but which are no more than just intelligent, and such as would be used by any shrewd individual who had never made a bad smell in a laboratory or made some terrific discovery (for the thousandth useless time) about the reaction of white rats to this or that. Professional scientists like Barrett, Richet and Lodge, took to psychical research and made scientific history. Other individuals, not scientists by profession, but just as fitted for such enquiry as most scientists and better fitted than some, have done equally important work. A scientist is no better fitted, as a scientist pure and simple, for psychical research than a person trained in pedagogics pure and simple is for teaching the young or a theologian pure and simple for real spiritual helpfulness.

To put the matter into a paragraph: Recent research by a large number of persons in various parts of the world has gathered enough evidence to prove that individual consciousness can operate characteristically and intelligibly without the usual means of expression and communication; and that it survives death for an observed period of time and can communicate with the living after that event.

This is not theology; it is a reasonable conclusion from sufficient data: it confirms my own experience and knowledge: it says nothing about immortality in the sense of an individual consciousness that never changes and never ceases to be conscious.

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The Field

(*Continued from page 2*)

prosperous America in an impoverished world; if they can achieve a consciousness of the stewardship of their talents and their property, history will vindicate them as it writes the story of their emancipating leadership in a day of great crisis.

Labor is also on trial. While the difficulties of organization at a time of vast unemployment are very great and the opposition serious, labor has an opportunity to gather the working men of America into a national federation of mutual loyalty and service, and to promote those compacts which will stabilize industry and secure to labor the benefits of generously rewarded efficient toil, while protecting the just interests of industry and the public. The verdict upon labor leadership is now being written. Will it record the operation of an inflexible purpose to include all toilers of every race and industry, whether skilled or unskilled, in the membership and service of their organizations? And will it reveal that the underprivileged and dispossessed, if adequately supported in their right to organize by government, industry and the public, can claim and win their human rights and privileges without the hatred and bitterness of class war?

The general public is at the bar of judgment. The measures now being tried and any others which give any promise of a cure of our social sickness, demand an integrity, a spirit of fair play, a capacity for long views, a willingness to surrender personal privilege and to share, such as have seldom been sought at the hands of any population in peace time. The inauguration of a New Era largely awaits the appearance of enough new people with new social outlooks and attitudes. Codes alone cannot give us a better society. There must be consecrations, too.

The church also is on trial. How can it urge cooperation in economic life, and at the same time be unwilling to move forward in effective cooperation among denominations? Can it call forth devotion to the public welfare and create social leadership of extraordinary courage, unless its ministers show equal devotion and courage in social interpretation and action? Can the church foster social idealism and inspire resolute action to break the power of entrenched selfishness, if large sections of it deny or are indifferent to the social implications of the gospel?

Were a prophet of Israel to arise among us he would again take up the cry of yesterday: "Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment; relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow." And should Jesus stand once more in our midst, we would hear His voice saying, "I was an hungered and ye fed me, naked and ye clothed me, thirsty and ye gave me drink. Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these, ye did it unto me." The best way to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, give drink to thirsty bodies and souls, is to make it possible for them to provide for themselves. Such provision waits not upon technical skill only, but upon the birth in our hearts of the spirit of Him who saw every man as God's child.

A truly Christian concern for people calls for the careful scrutiny of reform measures. We want no slight healing of the hurt of our people, no crying, "Peace, peace, when there is no peace." There are grave questions which must be answered. Can the removal of land from production be the Christian answer to cries of hunger around the world? Can an arbitrary inflation of money such as has been proposed in some quarters be the

straight road to justice between debtors and creditors? Can a system built about profits yield an adequate development of personality? Can liquor sold for private profit and taxed for public revenue enrich a people? Can huge military and naval expenditures be looked on by any sane man as a contribution to world peace?

As churches we cannot give the final word upon economic schemes, but in the name of Christ we must pass judgment upon the results of every social economy. We must inquire as to the actual number of unemployed, the degree to which the organization of labor and of consumers has advanced in comparison with the organization of employers, and the net gain in the redistribution of income and purchasing power as reflected by more rapid advance in wages and consumer income than in the cost of living. And we must insist that economic experiment shall proceed until it evolves a social order in which men and women everywhere shall have a real opportunity for the good life.

Once again we announce our purpose as churches and religious organizations to help recreate men and women in the spirit of Christ so that there shall be in America an increasing body of citizens whose master passion shall be the building of the Kingdom of God.

The Dance of Death

Six hundred years ago in Central Europe various allegorical representations of a dance of death grew into folklore, influenced artists, entered into church morality plays. Evil forces were shown, leading humanity in a grim fantasy to its grave. What more accurately depicts the modern world-wide armaments race? Here, for reference, are merely a few of the newer facts which illustrate the extent of the problem:

Australia: Plans four new cruisers, five destroyers, replacements, added air force; government making more anti-aircraft guns, small arms, ammunition, than ever before. Austria: Arming feverishly with aid of Mussolini, dictatorship having opened smooth arms route to Hungary. Belgium: Orders for army boots keeping factories at capacity; repressive measures voted to silence arms critics; 600,000,000 Belgian francs, instead of original 200,000,000, being spent for forts. Bolivia: Importing arms wholesale for war, but protests shipment 3,500,000 cartridges allegedly from Argentina to its foe, Paraguay. Canada: Supplying practically all world's nickel for armaments, government refusing to prohibit; exports to Britain quadrupled in last year, to Holland, sextupled. Canal Zone: Vast increase in ships carrying scrap iron, steel, lead, cotton, to Japan; 93,604 tons of nitrates from Chile to Europe, an extraordinary amount passed on first twelve ships of February alone. China: General von Seeckt, creator of German postwar army, called to China to organize many German officers aiding army; ban on all anti-war films throughout country. Colombia: After 1933 military budget, 3,800,000 pesos, was raised to 6,000,000 for 1934, demands for more came from army, to pay for new aviation and army increases; gag law on discussion of national defense; two new cruisers bought in Portugal. Czechoslovakia: Skoda works thriving, as key plant in Schneider arms ring; appropriations, personnel, increased for preparedness; Aussiger-Verein, huge chemical plant, has built ten-story administration structure and is striving to free country from reliance on German chemicals; Brno arms works recently took on 1,000 new hands to fill orders from three countries.

Denmark: Suspended plan to convert army into police; great arms plant at Otterup, Isle of Funen, center of experiments with "winged horror," new penetrating bullet. England: New shell at Sheffield will pierce heaviest armor plate and travel nine miles farther; sham maneuvers demonstrate naval vulnerability against air attack but Admiralty demands 25 battle cruisers at $25,000,000 each; three canals advocated as defense measure; secret mine-layer developed; new airplane first to fire shells; gas experiments proceeding apace; bombers perfected, guided by radio; exports of explosives gained tremendously; $40,000,000 in orders received at Clydeside arms plants; naval increases voted, to cost $56,550,000 in 1934. Esthonia: Four destroyers, two submarines sought in exchange for farm produce. France: 25,000 gas shelters erected in Paris; 5,300 planes at present to increase to 6,000 by end of 1934; new gas masks provided for army; 3,000 000,000 francs considered cost of "invincibility" in air; gas masks advertised freely in stores and papers; Schneider profits in last fiscal year were 25,390,000 francs, with dividends of 100 francs per share. Germany: Munitions, chemical plants going full blast; Krupp factories show loss cut by nearly $5,000,000 and employes raised from 46,000 to 60,000; unemployment support appropriations reduced from 520,000,000 to 264,813,500 marks; military and semi-military appropriations increased from 674,474,450 marks in 1932 and 749,462,600 marks in 1933, to 1,354,331,500 marks in 1934. Irak: Conscription instituted. Irish Free State: New army of 24,000 men projected.

Italy: Selected groups of boys given machine gun training; nine heavy and ten light cruisers under construction or just completed: 2,000,000 boys to get Fascist military training. Japan: Young girls present airplane detector to army, costing $10,000; "secret" guns on new "mystery" warships; new naval program calls for two aircraft carriers, two light cruisers, fourteen destroyers, six submarines, many small torpedo boats. New Zealand: Army, air force, navy, increased; new coast defenses, anti-aircraft guns, landing fields. Poland: Of estimated running expenses amounting to 21,173,000,000 zloty, military plans take 800,000,000, or about 40 per cent; sham poison gas raids in Warsaw; arms industry prospers on Russian and domestic orders, with night and day shifts. Siam: Army takes more control. South Africa: New air squadron; coast defense reorganized. Soviet Russia: Repeated army demonstrations in cities; poison gas raid rehearsals; youth gas brigades; girl machine gunners; heavy troop concentration in Far East. Switzerland: Gag law attempted by government, defeated by people; sham warfare to teach aerial defense; 90,000,000 Swiss francs planned for purchase mechanized artillery and munitions. Turkey: Enlarged air force. United States: Passes billion dollar naval bill; chemical plants ready for instant conversion into poison gas factories; preparedness bill more than double that of 1913; army expenses steadily rising; Senate proposal would add $3,000,000 to 1935 appropriations, for 37,500 C. M. T. C. boys as against 14,000, and for new R. O. T. C. units in 85 more high schools and 22 more colleges.—*World Events.*